this prospered, I obtained a contract to furnish the army with fresh vegetables. I became thus a man of some wealth.

There was a man in Rowandiz who had great influence, Sayyid Mousai Effendi Zhkrian. He begged me to become mukhtar, representative of the people to the government. Shakir effendi her knows of this. He advised me not to do it, because I did not have great wealth. I did not listen and the gelmeqam posted an order which appointed me mukhtar of the town. I caught Sayyid Ma'uf and put him into a narrow street. "Now I am master of Rowandiz," I told him. Everyone came to visit me, however, and I had to give them free food and drinking. I lost my money, and had to sell my horse, my pistol, and most of my wardrobe. Finally, I beg to give up being mukhtar and Ma'uf effendi was given the post again.

After this, I became sanitary inspector for the Baladiya, the municipality. I asked the gelmeqam to give me full authority, and Rowandiz did indeed become clean. I hired a man to shout in the streets that by order of Mustafa Ala any person who was found throwing rubbish or dirty water in the streets or who neglected to sweep in front of his house or who sold food with dirt in it should be fined. The fine was five dinars, a large sum. I also ordered that those selling food or kitchenware should have their plates shine like silver. I gathered the butchers together and told them they must cover their meat with white gauze to keep off the flies. I secretly inspected the weights, and I found that many merchants were selling me them the proper measures. I covered the tip of the stream which gives Rowandiz its water with barbed wire and forbade anyone to bathe in it. No person had the right to wash his feet or his dishes in it. When people saw me, they ran for miles. On my reports, the government collected 170 dinars from the people of Rowandiz, Ewelakan, and Dyana. My salary was not large, however, and no one appreciated what I was doing. People complained to the gelmeqam about my fines and my orders, and I had to leave the post.

Thus I left this job and went back to my old trade as a barber. You have seen my shop in the bazar and you know that I am the best barber in Rowandiz. I became a darvish and a khalifa (Arabic, "successor," presumably to the Prophet) by studying with some old men, and now I am a great teacher with students of my own. I teach them such things as cutting themselves without pain, piercing their limbs with skewers, and catching snakes. I make up poems and songs in Kurdish. My present duties are to prepare

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, colonial capital. From the side of the loggia two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field—a latrine, adequate, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe over the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other areas of the property.

342 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the latrine's waste-pipe over the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who have visual rites, washed themselves, collected vessels, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, gourd cans or goat's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for their dues, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to draw the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

343 The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central room, looking towards the court, represented the entrance, three-metre square. The mud-plastered earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the eastern back wall of this sitting room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[text continues top of p. 34 -- Analyst]

[M] ...wages from the work on the Dokan dam), water vessels, sacks, glasses, and utensils, lighters, tools, brushes, tin openers, and grass plaits.

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[342] [B42] A quite small house in the village of Bekka has been chosen as an example of the home owned by most of the plain peasant women. In it dwelt a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it disturbed, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was an oblong shape, so that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and other fruits stored in the way of kishmish utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of breastwork at the entrance side, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a half box.

[344] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a fairly peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this cellar—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Grass is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable on a pallet on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the saucepan, circular iron sheet, set on stone, on which the bread sheets, cake, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern box-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or in immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with numerous facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—home in especially in a wash. There, in small locked, back house, made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fresh water. The latter in the latest was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where was slept on bedrooms devoid of sheets, was at night closed by bulky branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[34]. Along the wall facing the street were the water installations. In the hall, at the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a narrow, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow. To the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, in addition a water connection under which a jug could be fit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tripoteno. The latrine also had three taps in all from which Sebastenon's good and well-drained municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were nicely built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of keyhole—between, also opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the corner part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and foodstuffs generally were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was opened

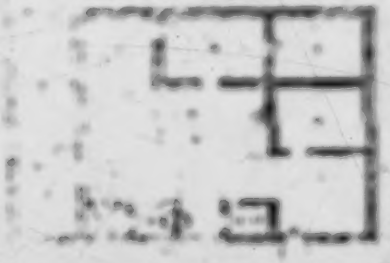

Fig. 35. Ground-plan of family house, Sebastenon
Scale 1:200
a central living room, b–c side, b, sleeping rooms, d store-room, e cooking and baking room in flat-roofed kitchen, f latrine, g guest room. Cf. fig. 34.

representation of the "uneducated" urban woman, as fully as it did that of the woman in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a conditional conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

An example of a new house intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one erected by a young newly-married couple, both fellaheen workers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's house: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bedroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with families, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father or members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first child, divide the women entering the women's world of the home, the man the man's world outside the furnishings would be included in the wardrobe, flexible, movable pieces.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing on large a number of family members in a house with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

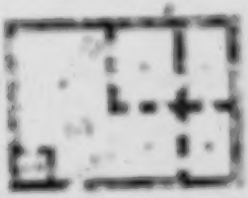

Fig. 11, 12, 13, pp. 39 and 40. Ground plans of house for newly-married couple. Reconstruction. Scale 1:200.
a = central living room, b = cook, b = sleeping room, c = store room, d = cooking and eating facilities in courtyard, e = lavatories, f = guest room.